DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 339 807 CE 052 464

TITLE Working in America and in Hawaii--A Humanities Guide.
INSTITUTION Hawaii Committee for the Humanities, Honolulu.
PUB DATE 88
NOTE 14p.
PUB TYPE Collected Works - General (020) -- Historical Materials (060)

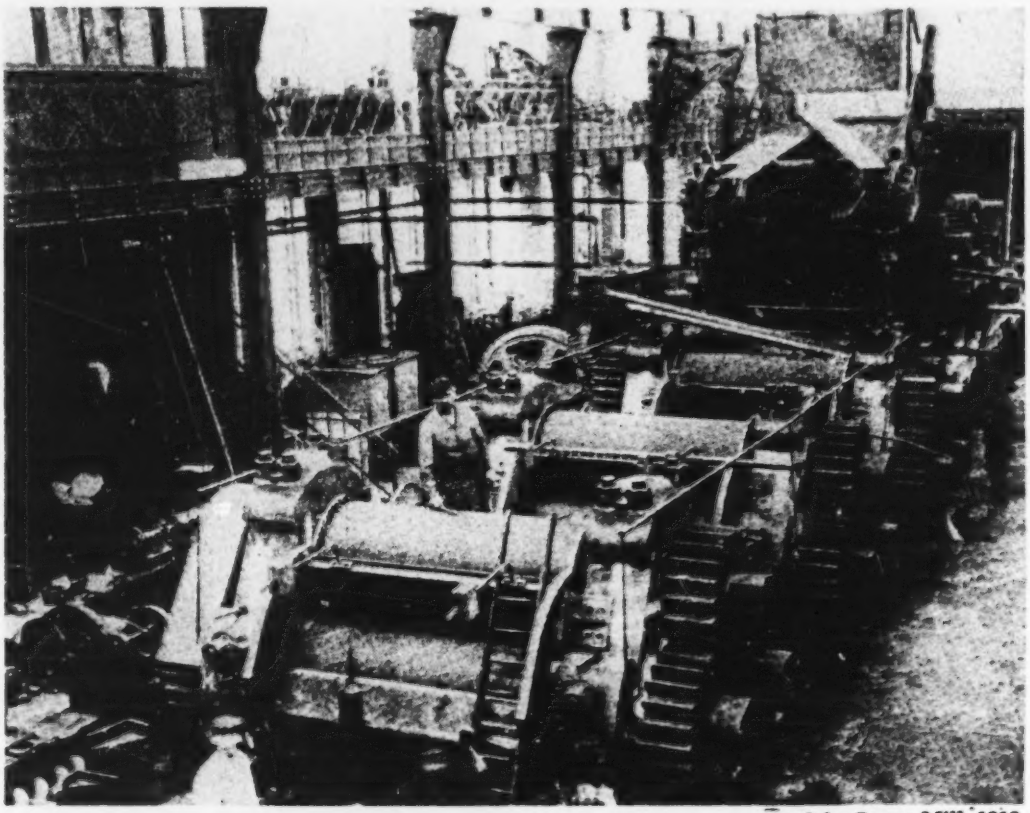
EDRS PRICE MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Adults; Comparable Worth; *Employed Women; Employees; *Employment Patterns; *Employment Practices; Ethics; *History; Labor Force; Labor Market; Sex Discrimination; Sex Fairness; Wages; *Work Attitudes; *Work Environment; Working Class
IDENTIFIERS Confucius; *Hawaii

ABSTRACT

This eight-page tabloid-style report presents an overview of past and present working conditions in the United States as a whole and in Hawaii in particular, with emphasis on women and on lower-level workers. The seven articles in the paper cover the following topics: "A Brief History of Labor in Hawaii" (William J. Puette); "The Nineteenth Century American Work Force" (Edward Beechert); "Women in the Labor Force in America and in Hawaii" (Joyce N. Chinen); "The Work Ethic in Early America" (Cedric Cowing); "Inequality and Discrimination in the Work Place" (Kenneth Kipnis); "Comparable Worth/Pay Equity" (Andrienne Valdez); the "The Confucian Work Ethic" (Daniel W. Y. Kwok). The material is illustrated with historical photographs and line drawings. (KC)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED339807



Naalehu Sugar Mill, 1910

Working in America and in Hawaii
— A Humanities Guide —

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☐ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☑ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

a Lew

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

OE 052464

A Brief History of Labor in Hawaii

by William J. Puette

In ancient Hawai'i the **maka'ainana** or common people worked the land, farming its rich harvest and that of the abundant ocean. Subject only to the will of their chiefs, the people worked primarily for themselves. Sometimes they were assessed an **auhau hana**, or labor tax, in the form of a temporary service or duty the **alii** might command such as the building of a **heiau** or royal preserve; otherwise, they were on their own.

With the arrival of Western traders and businessmen, native Hawaiian resources like **kapa** bark cloth and the highly prized and fragrant **iliahi**, sandalwood, soon became the currency supporting a new island economy. By 1827, though, the reigning monarch, King Kamehameha III was faced with a burgeoning trade deficit and many personal debts. To meet this crisis he was forced to decree that every man would be assessed a **picul** of sandalwood and every woman, not infirm or decrepit, a 12 feet by six feet **kapa** mat.

At his command loyal **maka'ainana** laboriously depleted the aged sandalwood forests to such an extent that this slow-growing tree was nearly eradicated. As the sandalwood trade exhausted, it was soon replaced by the demands of the whaling industry. Sailors wanted fresh vegetables, sturdy **kapa** for ship repair, and young, able-bodied men to fill out their crews.

While many of the fittest of the native Hawaiians were pressed into such service, vast numbers of the remaining population fell prey to the scourge of the white-man's diseases for which they had no resistance. Venereal disease, tuberculosis and even measles, which to the **haole** was no more than a mild childhood illness, raged like biblical plagues decimating then re-decimating the Hawaiian people just as the treasured **iliahi** had been cut down earlier. Where it is estimated that in the days of Captain Cook the population stood at about 300,000, by the middle of the nineteenth century only about one fourth of that number were left.

Like the sandalwood trade the whaling industry swiftly came to an end. In 1859 oil was discovered in Pennsylvania, and within a few years this new type of oil replaced whale oil in lamps. But by then, the seeds of Hawai'i's next great industry had already been twenty years in cultivation, when Hawai'i's first sugar plantation opened at Koloa on Kauai.

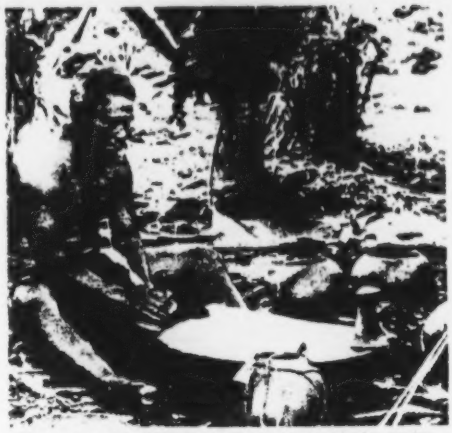
The rapidly evolving Hawaiian way of life was drastically changed again in 1848. The dividing up of the land known as "The Great **Mahele**" in that year introduced and institutionalized the private ownership or leasing of land tracts. Within a few years the sugar agricultural interests, mostly **haole**, had obtained leases or outright possession of a major portion of the best cane land.

Native Hawaiians, who had been accustomed to working only for themselves or for their chiefs on a temporary basis tried to adjust to the back-breaking work of clearing the land, digging irrigation ditches, planting, fertilizing, weeding and harvesting cane for an alien planter on a daily ten to twelve hour shift.

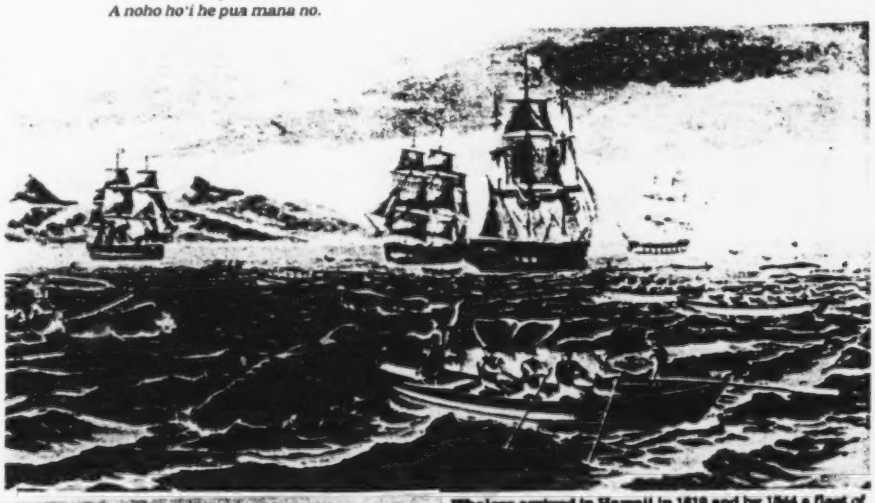
A song of the day captures the feelings of these first Hawaiian laborers:

PUA MANA NO

Nonoke au i ka mahi ko,
I ka mahi ko.
Ua 'eha ke kua, kakahe ka hou,
Poho, Poho.
A 'ai'e au i ka hale ku'ai,
A 'ai'e au i ka hale ku'ai.
A noho ho'i he pua mana no,
A noho ho'i he pua mana no.



Traditional implements for making poi in early Hawaii.



Whalers arrived in Hawaii in 1819 and by 1844 a fleet of 400 whaling ships anchored in Honolulu or off Lahaina.

SURE A POOR MAN

I labored on a sugar plantation,
Growing sugarcane.
My back ached, my sweat poured,
All for nothing.
I fell in debt to the plantation store,
I fell in debt to the plantation store.
And remained a poor man,
And remained a poor man.'

In fact it was not long after that first plantation opened that the first recorded Hawaiian labor dispute occurred when the native Hawaiian workers walked off their jobs at Koloa in 1841 to win a wage increase of about 2 cents an hour or 25 cents a day. Unsuccessful as it was, this strike, together with the ever diminishing labor supply of native workers, seemed to convince the growers only of the need to look to fresh sources of labor outside the islands.

Immigrant laborers were sought from Asia and the Pacific. Over the years in successive waves of immigration, the sugar growers brought to Hawai'i 46,000 Chinese, 180,000 Japanese, 86,000 Filipinos as well as Portuguese and Puerto Ricans, each one used generally to offset the bargaining power of its predecessor. Following the classic formula, the planters increased the labor supply as needed to decrease labor's demands. The major sugar planters grew more and more powerful as they organized and consolidated their holdings into five big companies that eventually dominated the island economy.

Alexander & Baldwin, Ltd., American Factors Ltd., Castle & Cooke, Ltd., C. Brewer & Company, Ltd., and Theo. H. Davies Company, Ltd. before long constituted a power in the islands that controlled virtually all business and commercial as well as public employment opportunities.

Prior to annexation in 1898, most of the immigrant plantation workers were bound by labor contracts

Plantation Towns were lonely, isolated in the midst of vast sugar cane fields far removed from the towns and cities. The homes of the workers were dominated by the mill structures. (Hana Plantation at the turn of the century).

that resembled military enlistment papers. The worker voluntarily "bound" himself to his employer for a number of years under the labor regulations of the Masters and Servants Act. Under this law, for example, absenteeism or refusal to work could cause a contract laborer to be apprehended and sentenced by the district magistrate or police office to work for the employer an extra amount of time after the contract expired, usually double the time of the absence. But the most resentment was often caused by the cruelty and arrogance of the plantation overseer or **luna** as he was called.

When Hawai'i became a territorial part of the United States, Caucasians from the mainland began to pour into the islands where many sought and found work in the skilled trades and crafts. Their influence tempted many of the native and imported workers to apprentice themselves to the skilled trades and leave the plantations and the **luna's** whip for the town areas and higher paying jobs.

Two years after Hawai'i became a Territory the daily wage for field hands was up to about seventy cents. Wage improvement was generally the result of a series of sporadic strikes organized along racial lines. Though these strikes often failed to achieve the official bargaining status the workers hoped for, in almost every case, they were followed by increased wages and benefits to the workers or the discharge of particular **lunas** that the employers hoped would prevent further unionization.

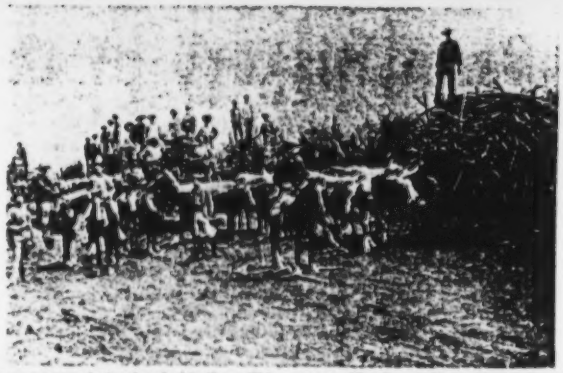
Then, in 1935, President Roosevelt, as part of his New Deal legislation, passed the Wagner Act giving workers the legal right to organize unions that could demand employer recognition. The International Longshoremen and Warehouseman's Union, the ILWU, unified the former Japanese and Filipino racial unions into Hawai'i's biggest single union representing sugar, pineapple and longshore workers across the island chain.

But the grip of the Big Five control over Hawai'i would continue until the fifties. By the late forties labor had achieved a considerable degree of solidarity forged in a number of key strikes that aimed to establish the principle of wage parity in the islands. Employers had always paid local workers less than the standard wage paid to workers on the West Coast of the United States. The 1949 Longshore Strike that lasted six months and crippled the Territory's economy was the greatest single battle in that campaign. The employers and their spokesmen in the media seized upon the popular fears of the day and tried to portray the unionists as communists. And an anti-union organization called IMUA was formed to stir up the community against the strikers.

Five years later not only had wage parity been achieved, but the political domination of the Big Five was ended and a newly elected Democratic majority commanded both houses of the territorial legislature.

In 1959 Hawai'i became the 50th State and jetliners began regular air service rapidly increasing the tourist industry and, with it, the retail sales sector and construction industry. In the fifties and sixties Oahu residents used to joke that the state bird must be the construction crane, so common a sight was it on the Honolulu skyline.

Unionization in Hawai'i reached its zenith in the early seventies with the passage of the state's collective bargaining law for public employees. Long the lowest paid and least secure workers whose employment and wages were generally at the mercy of political caprice, state and county workers now had the right to bargain contracts and file grievances like their brothers and sisters in the private sector.



Sugar cane on wagons being hauled to the mill by oxen on The Grove Farm Plantation in 1867.

Though, in general, wages and benefits paid to Hawai'i's workers are still somewhat less than that of their mainland counterparts, the gap has grown smaller and smaller due in large part to the activity of organized labor. And today the children of former plantation workers, many college educated, are seen every where in the middle-class professions thanks to the spirit of sacrifice and determination that united their parents' generation and made Hawai'i one of the most socially progressive states in the nation.

---

[1]Mary P. Pukui & Alfons L. Korn, **The Echo of Our Song: Chants and Poems of the Hawaiians** (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1973), pp. 122-124.

•••

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbott, William L. "Chapter XII: Brief History of Labor in Hawaii" **Hawaii The American Labor Heritage.** Honolulu: University of Hawaii, Industrial Relations Center, June 1967.

Beechert, Edward D. **Working in Hawaii: A Labor History.** Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1985.

_____. "Chapter II: Hawaiian Labor History" **American Trade Union Movement.** Honolulu: University of Hawaii, Industrial Relations Center, 1970.

_____. "Racial Divisions and Agricultural Labor Organizing in Hawaii." University of Hawaii, Industrial Relations Center, 1977.

Bottorff, Bruce. "Labor Strikes Back." **Hawaii Business.** Vol. 30, No. 9 (March 1985): 20-30.

Coman, Katherine. **The History of Contract Labor in the Hawaiian Islands.** (Publications of the American Economic Association, Third Series, Vol. IV, No. 3) New York: Macmillan, 1903.

Fuchs, Lawrence H. **Hawaii Pono: A Social History.** New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1961.

Ikeda, Kiyoshi. "Unionization and the Plantation." in **Social Process in Hawaii.** Vol. 15. Honolulu: University of Hawaii, Sociology Club, 1951: 14-25.

Johannessen, Edward. **The Hawaiian Labor Movement: A Brief History.** Boston: Bruce Humphries, Inc., 1956.

MacDonald, Alexander. **Revolt in Paradise.** New York: Stephen Daye, Inc. (Norwood Mass.: Norwood Press), 1944.

Matsumoto, Joyce A. **The 1947 Hawaiian Pineapple Strike.** Honolulu: University of Hawaii, Industrial Relations Center, August 1958.

Odo, Franklin and K[illegible]ko Sinoto. **A Pictorial History of the Japanese in Hawaii.** Honolulu: Hawaii Immigrant Heritage Preservation Center, Bishop Museum, 1985.

Perlman, Mark. "Organized Labor in Hawaii." **Labor Law Journal.** Vol. 3, No. 4 (April 1952): 263-275.

Pendleton, Edwin C. **Reversal of Roles — The Case of Paternalism in Hawaiian Labor-Movement Relations.** Honolulu: University of Hawaii, Industrial Relations Center, January 1962.

Reinecke, John E. **A History of Local 5: Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders International Union (AFL-CIO), Honolulu, Hawaii.** Honolulu, University of Hawaii Industrial Relations Center, 1970.

_____, compiler. "Labor Disturbances in Hawaii, 1890-1925: A Summary." Honolulu — July 1966.

Shoemaker, James H. **Labor in the Territory of Hawaii.** U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin 687, June 1939.

Shuster, Donald R. **Governor Burns and Labor-Management Disputes in Hawaii.** Publication 127. Honolulu: University of Hawaii, Industrial Relations Center, 1978.

State Labor Directory — Bicentennial Issue. **Labor: The Force Which Made Hawaii Great.** Honolulu: Mitsuba Publishing Co., 1977.

Stern, Bernard W. **Rutledge Unionism: Labor Relations in the Honolulu Transit Industry.** Honolulu: University of Hawaii, Center for Labor Education and Research, 1988.

Takaki, Ronald. **Pau Hana: Plantation Life and Labor in Hawaii.** Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1983.

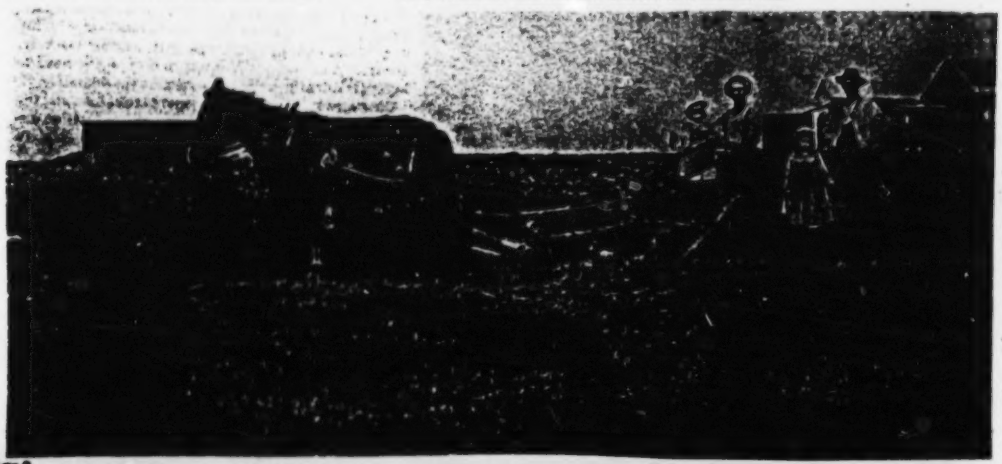
Wakukawa, Ernest K. **A History of the Japanese People in Hawaii.** Honolulu: The Toyo Shin, 1938; printed by The Dai-Nippon Printing Co., Tokyo.

Weingarten, Victor. **Raising Cane: A Brief History of Labor in Hawaii.** Honolulu: International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union — Local 156, September 1956.

Wills, Arnold L. "History of Labor Relations in Hawaii" (from a paper presented in two parts before the Hawaii Education Association, Nov. 15 and Dec. 20, 1945) **Labor-Management Relations in Hawaii.** Honolulu: University of Hawaii, Industrial Relations Center, 1959: 1-16.

Yoneda, Karl. "Brief History of Japanese Labor in Hawaii" **Hawaii Pono Journal** (March 1971): 1-9.

Zalburg, Sanford. **A Spark Is Struck: Jack Hall and the ILWU in Hawaii.** Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1979.



James B. Dole plowing his first pineapple field in 1901 near Wahiawa. This field was the beginning of the immense pineapple plantations, that cover much of Oahu's central plateau. (Dole is on the far right).

The Nineteenth Century American Work Force

by Edward Beechert

The new American nation in 1790 inherited two essentially conflicting traditions. The struggle for independence produced a widespread agreement on democratic goals. The many 18th century social conflicts found a common ground in the struggle waged by the American ruling class to control the political destinies and the character of government.

Once that multi-faceted struggle was won and consolidated in the Constitution, the American people were left with a legal tradition somewhat out of keeping with the democratic philosophy of the Revolution. That tradition was the acceptance of English Common Law. As applied to workers, this meant that a master-servant relationship prevailed. All economic aspects of society were regulated — the price of commodites as well as the 'price' of labor.

America in 1800 was a largely rural, agrarian society. Almost one fifth of all American workers were black slaves. The industrial sector was minuscule. Skilled workers in the few large cities responded quickly to the changing conditions of the early 19th century. Very likely the first trade union organization was set up in Philadelphia in 1792 by

"(In 1886, the) AFL had to confront the fact that technological developments were sweeping away traditional craft skills with each passing year, turning carpenters and machinists, for example, into semi-skilled workers rather that craftsmen."

shoemakers, followed soon after by New York Printers. These early organizations — not yet unions — were craft organizations, encompassing workers in a particular skill. There were too few workers in other occupations to consider organizing.

By 1806, the English tradition of common law had taken its toll. Philadelphia shoemakers (Cordwainers) were the first to be convicted of conspiring to raise their wages. Other workers in Pittsburgh and New York were similarly convicted of the crimes of conspiring to raise wages, restrict working hours and establish a closed shop. The courts ruled that such activities were conspiracies to take from employers their "property" without their consent. Although this notion had been discarded in England by this time, the courts applied it to the American scene in what appeared to be a blatant contradiction of the supposedly free market conditions.

Although the Constitution specifies that the goal and purpose of government is to promote the general welfare, the Constitution can also be interpreted as protecting property, the view held by the judges. The infant industries of America did not support the emerging labor movement. The economy was moving in the direction of machine production — away from the skilled craftsman such as the shoemaker. It is important to note that while the courts of the land were turning to these ancient doctrines to control the worker, the emerging industrial worker before 1860 plunged ahead in repeated efforts to organize to protect working conditions, wages, and, above all, human dignity. Judges rule but workers produce.

Under attack by the courts, workingmen turned to politics to solve their problems. Property qualifications were generally removed during this period, effectively broadening the political franchise.

Working men's parties appeared, with the first in Philadelphia in 1827. The platform called for much of what we today consider our birthright: Public school systems, a mechanic's lien law, abolition of compulsory militia service, universal white suffrage, the ten hour day and regulation of banks. Considered

"The (nineteenth) century ended in a dismal series of conflicts and violence. It seemed to many that the government, particularly the courts, had as their chief goal, the oppression of the working men and women of America."

wild radicalism in 1827, all of these have since been incorporated into the Amerian political economy, as have many of the later demands of the American working class. Although these parties were not permanent additions to the American political scene, their demands remained and were incorporated into the larger political structure — co-opted some say.

Between 1831 and 1837, over seventy trade unions were organized, encompassing some 300,000 workers. The first labor newspapers appeared. Although all of these organizations would vanish by the onset of the Civil War, their legacy remained and became part of the Post-Civil War labor movement.

After 1840, workers began to question the exploitation of machine production. Massachusetts adopted the eleven hour day — 7 a.m. to 7 p.m. with forty-five minutes for dinner and early closing on Saturday (5 p.m.). New Jersey went further in 1851 and established ten hours as the mandatory work day throughout the State.

American labor was tragically split on the issue of slavery. Most workers were agreed that chattel slavery was a threat to the institutions of a free society. They were equally concerned that their own working conditions were poor and could be threatened by the competitive threat of freed slaves. This idea was assiduously cultivated by Southern

"American labor was tragically split on the issue of slavery. Most workers were agreed that chattel slavery was a threat to the institutions of a free society. They were equally concerned that their own working conditions were poor and could be threatened by the competitive threat of freed slaves."

propagandists. Northern employers and newspapers played up this "competitive menace." The aggressive Southern efforts to expand slavery after 1850 gradually changed the views of the American working man. George Fitzhugh, southern apologist for slavery put the matter succinctly:

"Some men are born with saddles on their backs and others booted and spurred to ride them, and riding does them good. Harmonizing the interest betwixt capital and labor, Southern slavery has solved the problem over which statesmen have toiled and philanthropists mourned from the first existence of organized society."

In other words, slavery for all workers. Such sentiments did much to convert Northern labor organizations and workers to the view that slavery was an institution which threatened the essence of democratic society and the welfare of American working people.

The pre-Civil War experience laid the ground work for the emergence of national labor organization following the Civil War. The first of these was the National Labor Union (NLU) — a forward looking industrial-type union. By proclaiming its goal as "establishing a national unity among the working classes throughout all of the states," the short-lived NLU hoped to organize all working men and women, black and white. Sex, race, ethnicity all were seen as divisive, elements, victimizing the worker.

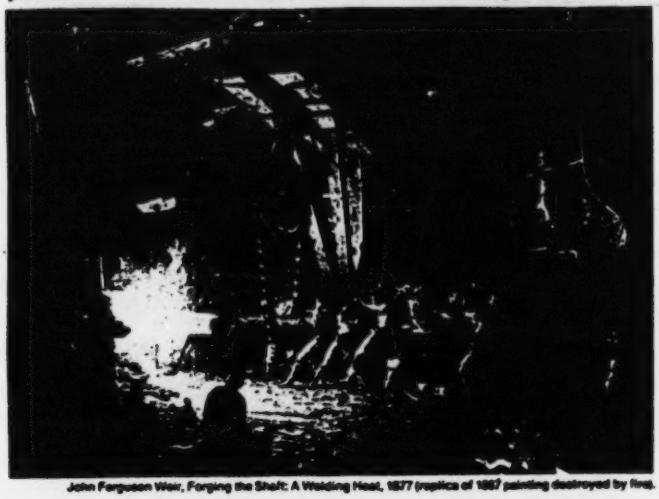
Out of the severe post-Civil War depression and the rapid expansion of American industry, a new,

Robert Koehler, The Strike, 1886.

national labor movement began to form. The Knights of Labor, a semi-secret society emerged from a small union of garment workers in Philadelphia in 1869. As other craft unions were added, the ideas of Uriah Stephens, the founder, came into conflict with the industrial conditions. Stephens was a firm believer in the doctrine of cooperation, one in which competition and conflict would be eliminated. These utopian views were not shared by employers nor by government, and diluted much of the organizational activity of the enthusiastic workers.

The Knights of Labor had significant political gains to their credit. The importation of contract, bound labor was outlawed. The widespread use of convict labor was abolished in most states under pressure from chapters of the organization. In 1884 a federal Bureau of Labor was established, as were many state bureaus of labor statistics. These early bureaus would grow into departments of labor which provide corrections of many of the poor working conditions.

The rapid expansion of the American industrial economy produced reactions in various segments of American society. The emergence of the giant corporations, and the swift development of machine technology in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, produced reactions among the American workers which are best described as defensive. While the Knights of Labor were urging cooperation, workers were encountering the raw power of the politically potent and economically powerful corporations. Workers began to consider other forms of organization.



John Ferguson Weir, Forging the Shaft: A Welding Heat, 1877 (replica of 1867 painting destroyed by fire).

Thomas Pollock Anshutz, Ironworkers' Noontime, c. 1880-81.

A dissident group left the Knights in 1881 to form a more defensive organization, the Federation of organized Trades and Labor Unions. The organization seemed doomed to failure and quick oblivion. Yet their campaign to establish the eight hour day caught fire and produced a national effort which climaxed at Haymarket on May 1, 1886. The public reaction swept away the Knights of Labor. Under the leadership of Samuel Gompers, in 1886, the Federation of Organized Trades was re-organized into the American Federation of Labor, dedicated to protecting the skilled worker from the sweeping industrial changes taking place in America. Gompers brought to the American trade union ideas formed in the British labor movement: centralization of authority, financial stability, organizational efficiency, and, above all, the protection of the craft skill. Strikes were to be carefully planned, with reasonable goals and adequate financing. Much of the power and decision making authority were to be in the hands of national officers.

"As applied to workers, (acceptance of the English Common Law tradition by early Americans) meant that a master-servant relationship prevailed. All economic aspects of society were regulated — the price of commodities as well as the 'price' of labor."

Precisely at the point of organization, the AFL had to confront the fact that technological developments were sweeping away traditional craft skills with each passing year, turning carpenters and machinists, for example, into semi-skilled workers rather than craftsmen.

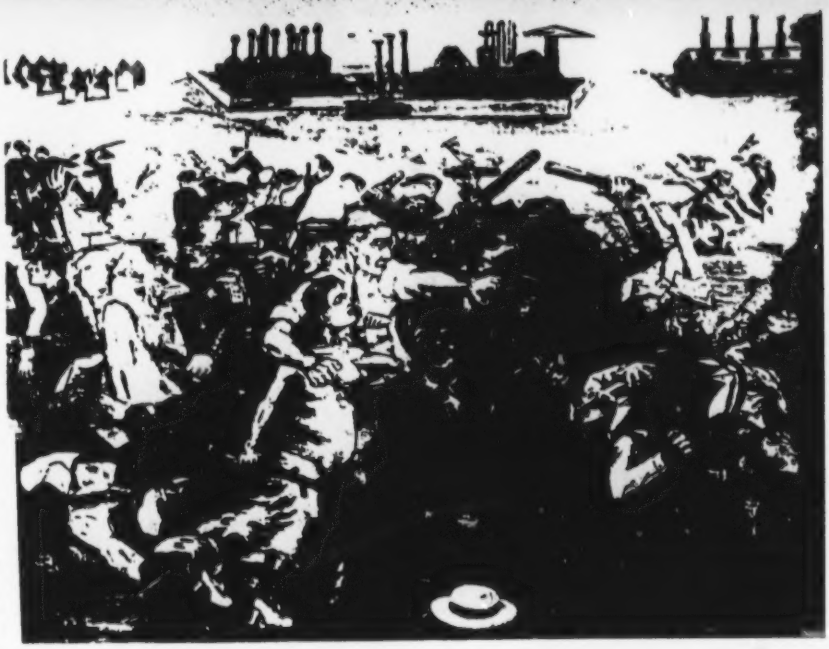
Carpenters who once built all the elements of a building, faced the development of power tools. Doors, windows, moldings, and cabinets began to be fashioned by unskilled and semi-skilled workers away from the building site. Miners in the 1880s faced new mining machines which reduced them to loaders and tenders. New steel technology in 1886 swept way many of the ancient skills of the iron worker. To all of these, the AF of L turned a defensive face, hoping to use the labor power of the skilled, dwindling though they were, as the lever to force recognition and the protection of working conditions.

A parallel movement at the end of the nineteenth century, emphasized a socialist analysis of the American economy. Led by Eugene Debs of the American Railway Union, the American Socialist Party emerged to challenge the direction of American society. Formed in 1896, the Socialists quickly became a significant factor in both the politics of America and the labor movement. In fact, it seemed quite reasonable to expect that the AF of L and the Socialist labor movement would come together. Such was the expectation of Debs. In the last years of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, the Socialists gained both in the political arena and in the labor movement.

The development of rival socialist labor organizations in the last decade of the nineteenth century did much to weaken the momentum of the take-over of the AF of L. Under the able leadership of Gompers, the AF of L altered its organization in an effort to accommodate the semi-skilled and the unskilled workers by forming industrial-type units which, although kept separate, would eventually be distributed among the old line craft unions. Ultimately, the success of the industrial-type organizing of the socialist unions brought the federal and state governments into the fray on the side of the AF of L. The law, business, and government were too much for the socialists.

The century ended in a dismal series of conflicts and violence. It seemed to many that the government, particularly the courts, had as their chief goal, the oppression of the working men and women of America. The title of a popular book summed up the feelings of many Americans. The United States political economy was turning into OUR BENEVOLENT FEUDALISM. In 1900, few critical observers, in addition to newsman E.J. Ghent saw any reason for optimism.

The gloomy outlook was in part responsible for a strong movement to find more sensible solutions to the labor-management disputes. The National Civic Federation was founded in 1900 to offer mediation services in labor disputes. Backed by the most powerful industrialists and such labor leaders as John Mitchell of the Miners Union and Samuel Gompers, progressive leaders hoped to move into a new era. The effort did little to alter the basic antagonism between American business men and the working class. That would have to wait until America was confronted with the catastrophe of the Great Depression. By 1900, the shape of labor management relations were sharply defined.



Above, "American Tragedy by Philip Evergood, 1937. Below. "Driller" by Harold Lehman, 1937 (WPA: federal art project).

by Joyce N. Chinen

If **work** would be viewed as purposeful activity, as activity involving thought, preparation and carry-through, then, clearly, women have always worked. The problem, however, is that work has not always been defined in this manner. In fact, as industrialization proceeded through America and Hawai'i, work became defined in terms of **employment.** As a result, most women were not considered workers, at least officially by the government, and socially by the society at large. Why was this the case? The answer, most historians agree, lay in the nineteenth and early twentieth century's ideas about men and women's "proper place" — for men, it was in the marketplace, and for women, it was in the home. Men were presumed to be more suited for the rigors and wickedness of the marketplace and, therefore, assumed the Good Provider role. The Cult of Femininity or "True Womanhood" idealized motherhood. Women's purity of heart and mind, or so it was thought, made them ideal candidates for the care and rearing of innocent children, and for the creation of a home for men which could be a haven in a heartless world.

If they engaged in employment at all, most women were employed only in their late teens and early twenties. This was generally a pattern established in the earliest years of industrialization in America by the labor recruiters for the Lowell and Waltham mills in Massachusetts. Factory girls, as they were called, were among the first industrial workers in the U.S., and were essential income generators for their families. They were from farm families which had been given assurances by the labor recruiters that the young women would receive dormitory housing, religious and spiritual study in their spare time, and would earn income which the farm families could use for their own needs or for their daughter's dowry.

"In Hawaii, as on the Mainland, the nature of women's work heavily depended on the historical period... (and) was also tied to their racial ethnic background and their socioeconomic standing... (and) to their status as wives, daughters or mothers."

In Hawai'i, as on the Mainland, the nature of women's work heavily depended on the historical period examined. It was also tied to their racial or ethnic background, and their socioeconomic standing. Most important, however, was their position as women, for often their activities were tied to their status as wives, daughters or mothers.

Women's work in pre-contact Hawai'i depended on their social status, the season of the year, and the particular areas of the islands they inhabited. Most women belonged to the **maka'ainana** ranking, and their days were spent tending plots of sweet potatoes, gathering limu and flora for food and crafts, and producing tapa and lauhala mats. Child care was a communally shared responsibility, but because of the sex segregation in certain activities, younger children were more likely to be under the care and supervision of women. Because men were responsible for the important religious rituals, meal preparation was generally done by men and the eating of meals was segregated by sex and age.

"Dinner for Threshers" by Grant Wood, 1934.

These predictable patterns of Hawai'ian life were undermined by the arrival of Captain James Cook and other, largely European, explorers. The introduction of new warfare technologies intensified the existing warfare among the chiefs and resulted in the politicial consolidation of the chiefdoms into a single kingdom under Kamehameha I. As the Kingdom of Hawai'i found itself being drawn into the East-West Trade, its people experienced challenges to the traditional **kapu**, religion, and family organization. Diseases introduced by the sailors and traders drastically reduced the Hawaiian population. After Liholiho's overturn of the kapu system and the destruction of the idols and **heiau**, instigated by the regent Ka'ahumanu who had been an early convert, Hawai'ians were introduced to a new type of religion, Christianity.

Among the Christian missionaries sent by the New England-based American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions were women like Sybil Moseley Bingham, Juliette Montague Cooke, and Lucy Goodale Thurston who taught in the schools that they founded with their husbands. That most missionary women had met and married their husbands only a few weeks before their departure for Hawai'i speaks not only to their courage and determination, but also to the narrow range of opportunities for women to be found in America at that time. The missionary influence on Hawaiian royalty and chiefs was considerable, and over time, critical changes in the legal system, including the writing of a Constitution, and the control over land took place.

"Although women have been conceived as passive and long-suffering, and as tolerating extreme conditions, the historical and contemporary record shows a continuing struggle to improve both their own and others' working conditions."

Many of the lay people who initially came as missionaries eventually settled in Hawaii and began successful businesses provisioning whalers and the East-West trading industry. As the whaling industry declined, they turned their interests to growing and marketing sugar. The rise in power of those connected with the sugar industry coincided with the decline of the power of the monarchy. Although valiant efforts to reestablish monarchical power were made by both Queen Emma and Queen Liliuokalani, too much had changed during the nineteenth century. In 1893, the Hawai'ian Kingdom was overthrown and, in just over a century's time, Hawai'i went from being a set of chiefdoms to an independent kingdom, to a mere territory of the United States.

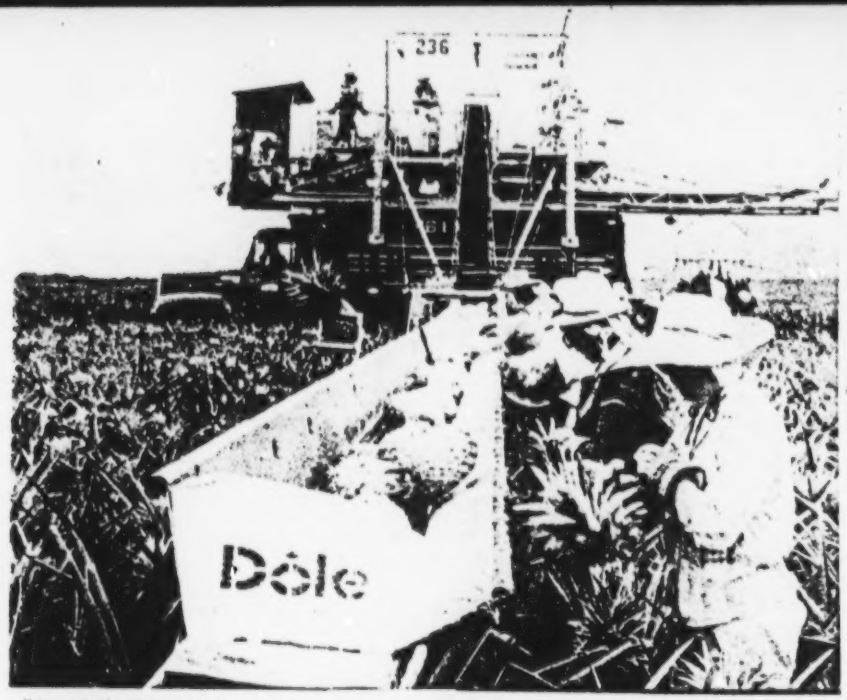
"Women (have not been) considered workers, at least officially by the government, and socially by the society at large... (due mainly to) the nineteenth and early twentieth century's ideas about men and women's 'proper place' — for men, it was in the marketplace, and for women, it was in the home."

Since the sugar industry required a large labor force, and the native Hawai'ian population had been reduced through disease and seemed to be unwilling to work for the twelve-and-a-half to fifty cents a day wages, the planters sought labor from other parts of the world. European labor tended to be more expensive and more difficult to control because they came with wives and children, and settlement expectations. Asian contract labor was less expensive since

Hawaiian woman weaving coconut leaves (Photo, Bishop Museum Baker Collection).

Hapai Ko: Japanese woman loading cane (Hawaii State Archives).

BEST COPY AVAILABLE



it was mostly male, a result created by the planters who had placed restrictions on the proportions of Asian females and children admitted to Hawai'i. Most Asian laborers came with a sojourning orientation, the expectation of making their fortunes and returning to their native lands. Although many Asians did return to their homelands, later migrants often found it difficult to return because of the economic and political conditions in their homelands. Moreover, the seventy-five cents a day average wage for a sixty to seventy-hour week in 1900 was too low for many Japanese workers to be able to accumulate enough money to resettle in their homeland. As the growing anti-Asian sentiment became expressed in more restrictive immigration laws, many Asians sent home for "picture brides."

Picture brides came largely from Japan, Okinawa, and Korea between 1907 and 1924. In plantation communities, they were often employed in the fields along with their children, and paid lower wages than the men. On sugar plantations, they were used to cut cane for seed, for **hoe-hana** work, for stripping **opala** (the unwanted leaves and rubbish) from the sugar cane, and for bundling the cane. As the industry developed, they also worked sewing up the sugar bags, in the offices and laboratories. Until the ILWU organized sugar workers, wages and benefits were very low, and working conditions very harsh. Women, therefore, supplemented their family incomes by taking in laundry, doing cooking, delivering babies, and other forms of "women's work," coped with the conditions of their daily life through prayer, investing in their children's futures, and composing songs known as **hole hole bushi.**

Perhaps the single industry that had the greatest impact on women was the pineapple industry, and some of these women's experiences have been documented by the University of Hawai'i's Oral History Project. Women worked in the fields picking slips, harvesting and sorting the pineapples by size, and in the pineapple canneries. As the pineapple industry developed, and new field and cannery technology was introduced, women workers were often subjected to speedups and other hazardous conditions. As with their sisters in the sugar industry, they organized to improve their working conditions.

The turn of the century was characterized by greater urbanization. In urban areas like Honolulu and Hilo, women "who had to work" had a little more variety of work from which to choose. Here, again, the type of work varied by their social and ethnic backgrounds. Upper and middle class **Haole** (Caucasian) women generally engaged in "volunteer or charitable work" with organizations such as the Young Women's Christian Association, the

"Factory girls, as they were called, were among the first industrial workers in the U.S., and were essential income generators for their families."

Junior League and the Outdoor Circle. Through these activities, they not only served the community, but also enhanced their families' social status. Middle class **Haole** and Part-Hawai'ian women were largely found in teaching, in department stores as saleclerks, in offices as stenographers, and as nurses. Portuguese and other Part-Hawai'ian women dominated in the steam laundries and in the newly developing garment industry.

The lifestyle and sociability patterns of the elite and middle class families required the employment of maids, cooks and yardboys. The 1930 Census of Occupations, which reported 17,524 gainfully employed women in Hawai'i, found about one-third of these women employed as domestic and personal servants, and over two-thirds of these women were Japanese. Most earned between $30 to $40 a month. Although many of them were married, most domestics were daughters who were sent out to supplement their family's incomes, or who worked for room and board while they attended school.

The urban scene was also dotted with small family businesses such as grocery stores, tailor shops, laundries, boarding houses and restaurants, and women and children often worked in these enterprises, often out of the sight of official statistics. The long hours of work that women and their families put in often made the difference between failure or success of these small businesses.

Urbanization also contributed to the creation of new industries. Tourism began very modestly in 1900 with the Moana Hotel in Waikiki, and developed further with the opening of the Royal Hawaiian Hotel and the commissioning of the **Malolo**, a passenger liner, by the Territorial Hotel Company. Today, tourism is the leading industry in Hawai'i, surpassing the revenues generated by the military, sugar and pineapple industries, and it employs many women, as housekeepers, tourguides, flight attendants, entertainers, salesclerk and waitresses.

Today, about 60% of all women in Hawai'i work in the civilian labor force. Yet, the same social forces which shaped women's work historically still operate and shape the nature of their work today. Ethnic and social backgrounds are still related to the kinds of work performed. For example, Caucasian and Asian women are more likely to fill white-collar and professional jobs, while Filipino, Part-Hawai'ian and other Pacific Island women are likely to fill blue-collar jobs. Over forty-three percent of the female workforce in Hawai'i is employed in clerical and sales jobs, another twenty-two percent are in service jobs, and only fifteen percent are in the professions. Additionally many women also work in the underground economy doing "women's work" such as child care, domestic service and home production work, much as they have in the past. Furthermore, as in the past, they are often plagued by the "double day," and put in another five to seven hours of household and family work after performing their "paid" work.

Although women have been conceived as passive and long-suffering, and as tolerating extreme conditions, the historical and contemporary record shows a continuing struggle to improve both their own and

"As in the past, (women) are often plagued by the 'double day,' and put in another five to seven hours of household and family work after performing their 'paid' work."

others' working conditions. On the mainland, women like Salome Lincoln, a young preacher who had earlier worked as a mill worker, led a strike of mill women in 1829 in Taunton, Massachusetts. In 1825 women in New York City formed their own union, United Tailoresses, and demanded higher wages, and in 1828 in Dover, New Hampshire, when several hundred young mill women struck in protest over the company's attempt to impose new factory rules. If work is seen in terms other than employment, surely women such as Mary Harris "Mother" Jones, the infamous labor organizer; Harriet Tubman, the conductor of the Underground Railroad; the women who attended the Seneca Falls Convention, the Suffragettes, etc. have worked on organizing resistance and reform movements. Moreover, women were often the backbones of successful strikes, as was the case in the now documented film, **With Babes and Banners.**

The recognition of this pattern was not lost among union organizers in Hawaii. For example, Harry Kamoku, a major labor organizer at the Port of Hilo, early on sought out the ear of wives and mothers of sailors, longshoremen and dockworkers. Many of the 250-plus participants in the demonstrations of support for the striking workers of the Inter-island Steamship Company in 1937 which resulted in what came to be known as the Hilo Massacre were women. In fact, most of the women themselves were on strike against the Hilo White Star Laundry.

Clearly, in the organizing drives in the sugar, pineapple, tourist and other industries, and in the public sector areas as well, women such as Ah Quon McElrath, have played important roles as labor organizers and spokespersons. Today, women serve as union leaders, stewards and representatives. By virtue of their contradictory experiences, standing at the intersection of workplace and household, they also bring to Labor-Management relations a new

REFERENCES AND SUGGESTED READINGS

Edward Beechert, **WORKING IN HAWAII: A LABOR HISTORY.** (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press), 1985.

Frances, Blascoer, **THE INDUSTRIAL CONDITION OF WOMEN AND GIRLS IN HONOLULU: A SOCIAL STUDY.** (Honolulu: Paradise of the Pacific Printers), 1912.

Jane Dranga, **"RACIAL FACTORS IN THE EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN," in SOCIAL PROCESS IN HAWAII, volume 2, 1936.**

Ethel Erickson, **EARNINGS AND HOURS IN HAWAII WOMEN EMPLOYING INDUSTRIES,**

#177, (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office), 1940.
Evelyn Nakano Glenn, ISSEI, NISEI, WAR BRIDE: THREE GENERATIONS OF JAPANESE AMERICAN WOMEN IN DOMESTIC SERVICE. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press), 1986.
Alice Kessler-Harris, OUT TO WORK: A HISTORY OF WAGE-EARNING WOMEN IN THE UNITED STATES, (New York: Oxford University Press), 1982.
Barbara Bennett Peterson (ed.), NOTABLE WOMEN OF HAWAII, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press), 1984.
Barbara Mayer Wertheimer, WE WERE THERE: THE STORY OF WORKING WOMEN IN AMERICA, (New York: Pantheon Books), 1977.
Lynn Y. Weiner, FROM WORKING GIRL TO WORKING MOTHER: THE FEMALE LABOR FORCE IN THE UNITED STATES, 1820-1980, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press), 1985.

Silk mill at Paterson, New Jersey, in 1914. *Underwood & Underwood Stereo Card* from Library of Congress.

Picking cotton on a Mississippi plantation. *Keystone Lantern Slide.*

The Work Ethic in Early America

by Cadric Cowing

America was a middle class society from the very beginning. The rich and poor stayed home and those who did choose to emigrate were able to raise their status in the process. England in the seventeenth century was in the middle of a commercial revolution and the government wanted to stimulate enterprise and energize the working population. This policy led to overseas "plantations" — as the English called them — in North America.

The Jamestown Experience

The first settlers of Jamestown in Virginia did not have a strong work ethic. They came from the humble classes of late medieval England. They were only nominal members of the Church of England and lacked the Protestant work ethnic of the Puritans and Separatists. They had grown to manhood in an Elizabethan welfare state with chronic underemployment. They had a guild mentality that made them reluctant to attempt tasks for which they had no training.

These attitudes did not suddenly change when they walked down the gangplank into tidewater Virginia. Even the dangers of the Indians on the frontier and Spanish raids from Florida did not dispel their lethargy. Instead of preparing for the winter, they took two hour lunch breaks and siestas. Some individuals imagined that they would discover gold or silver in the woods and be able to return to England

"The Puritans brought a strong work ethic with them when they arrived in New England as religious refugees . . . . Wages from a 'particular calling' should be expended in a frugal manner or invested in projects that promoted efficient godliness . . . and community spirit."

as rich men. The joint stock company that was financing settlement found them difficult to organize and manage. The Company required the colonists to work communally for seven years before receiving their individual plots of land. Some modern commentators fault this Company policy for retarding development because entrepreneurial energy could only come from a direct stake in the new enterprise through landholding. Conservatives have cited this Virginia experience to claim that socialism was tried and failed at the outset of American history.

The seeds of the American work ethic were not visible in Virginia until 1618, a decade after initial settlement. By that time some seventy percent of the colonists had perished from disease and failure to adapt to the climate and terrain of this part of the New World. Thus England, the Company, and especially the pioneers, paid a very high price for the beachhead that was finally established on the Chesapeake.

This and the fact that tobacco proved to be a profitable export finally changed attitudes toward work among the surviving colonists who had finished serving their indentures. The American work ethic then became discernable. The colonists gained discipline, worked harder, and sought to rise above their modest origins and create a gentry among tobacco planters comparable to the country gentlemen of England. The homeland at that time was still a very

"The American frontier obviously made a big difference in the attitude toward work . . . . Women discovered that by performing non-traditional work outside the house that was essential and useful, they gained new status and voice in family affairs."

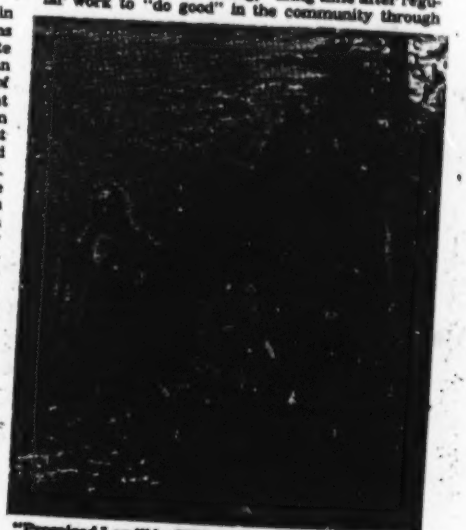
stratified society, but the availability of good land in the New World changed the colonists' perceptions and made them see that social mobility was quite feasible. The quiet decision to make African "servants" into perpetual slaves was one result of such ambition, however. The early experience at Jamestown had suggested that white men from Britain were not efficient in the new environment until they were free of indentured servitude and working for themselves on their own plots. Ultimately, Virginia's work ethic was sapped by the switch from white to black labor. By the eighteenth century, Virginia became stratified in the plantation country and white men looked down on manual labor and work in general was less respected. The gentlemanly ideal of hospitality and dilletantism undermined the work ethic of the previous century. One of the strongest economic arguments that abolitionists made decades later was that slavery was a vestige of the middle ages, not only in conflict with the ideals of the new republic, but quite inefficient compared to free labor. Their confidence in free working men was based on the good experience with that arrangement in the North from the beginning.

The New England Experience

The Puritans brought a strong work ethic with them when they arrived in New England as religious refugees. They retained it, although they modified their Calvinism and became Yankees. For them work has remained an important ideal into the twentieth century. Luther, Calvin and other Reformers after the break with Rome emphasized the concept of "the calling," that God gave people different talents so that society could develop. A person need not be sequestered to lead a godly life, but had the obligation to be in the world but not of it, looking on the world with "weaned affections." A person could serve God best by being conscientious in using these talents for the community, even if that meant in a few instances holding two jobs at once. God created no calling that was despised; they were equally valuable in His eyes.

Greater efforts at work were prescribed for those that were restless or undergoing religious doubts; work was the principal remedy for anxiety in general. Since time on this earth was limited compared to that in the hereafter, it should be planned and not wasted. Wages from a "particular calling" should be expended in a frugal manner or invested in projects that promoted efficient godliness, not spent on "luxuries" that could distract from or undermine religiosity and community spirit.

According to Calvin, God also wanted his followers to pursue a "general calling," using time after regular work to "do good" in the community through



"Promised Land" by Williams S. Jewett, 1868.

No. 23 MAKING A RECORD OF THE CUSTOMER'S ORDER.
SEARS, ROEBUCK & CO., Chicago, Ill.

voluntarism. God judged communities as well as individuals, the Puritans believed, and the communal covenant made the brothers and sisters responsible for each other's actions.

The sociologist, Max Weber, found in Yankee ideas of the eighteenth century the seeds of America's industrial capitalism that emerged in the next century. He cited Ben Franklin who grew up in a Puritan household in New England but rejected orthodoxy in favor of deism and a religion of morality. Ben retained, however, his belief in work and the callings, incidentally becoming the richest man in Pennsylvania. Weber conceded that Ben and others worked hard and did good but argued that he and others like him opened the door to economic individualism, to putting the particular calling above the general. When the Yankees triumphed over the Confederates in the Civil War, their mores were not only established nationally, but imposed on the Rebels, extended to the freedmen, and then promoted among the New Immigrants that arrived soon afterward. We owe the Puritans and their Calvinistic allies — because they emphasized and explicated it — for our history of a strong work ethic and such strains of it we may still harbor late in the twentieth century.

The Frontier Experience: Women and the Family

The American frontier obviously made a big difference in the attitude toward work at Jamestown, in New England and in other colonies. It seemed to mean that, with Old World restrictions largely absent, hard work would be tangibly rewarded. Not only indentured servants, but women (and children sometimes) found opportunities to develop and assert their "rights" in the new atmosphere. The frontier would change the relations between the sexes and reduce the role of the man as the head of the family. In the case of the Puritans and other religious groups, this happened despite the strictures on female activity found in the scriptures.

Women discovered that by performing non-traditional work outside the house that was essential or very useful, they gained new status and voice in family affairs. Men and women worked closely on the frontier or the isolated farm. They shared many duties including educating the children, and engaging in cottage industry.

In the Puritan colonies there was a strong religious incentive for females to learn to read and even discuss or explain points of theology. Acquiring these skills brought females closer in thought to males and gave the former confidence to participate in public affairs, to engage in more outside-the-home activities to fulfill the general calling. For women the frontier effect was democratizing. Their extra work, their willingness to experience the dangers, to be autonomous in many situations, won respect from male society. Their contributions were acknowledged on the frontier a long time before they were written into law. The conditions required everyone to work hard at times, but women, children and generally those of humble origins benefitted by accumulating the rights and powers the experience afforded.

"Americans have still not found any substitute for satisfaction in one's calling; for many work and play have merged, and the result is as absorbing as ever."

The Late Twentieth Century Experience

Today the free land of the frontier is gone, and the religious sanctions for work have weakened. Americans generally, and immigrants especially, can still take advantage of a society, however, where diligence and good habits pay off in material goods. We have invented the term, "workaholic," to describe the person who goes too far in this direction. We still have our work ethic, but now many more nations are acquiring theirs, so there is new concern to arouse pride, patriotism and self-interest, to stimulate Americans to be conscientious in their chosen fields. Americans have still not found any substitute for satisfaction in one's calling; for many work and play have merged, and the result is as absorbing as ever.

"The seeds of the American work ethic were not visible in Virginia until 1618, a decade after initial settlement (in Jamestown)."

Bishop Museum

Inequality and Discrimination in The Work Place

by Kenneth Kipnis

Most Americans agree that certain of our groups have been the victims of injustices so substantial and so widespread as to diminish their life prospects. We have become sensitized to pervasive practices that are captured in terms like "racism," "sexism," and "ageism," and that are seen in the dozens of familiar words used to slur the members of maligned groups. These practices have existed in employment, and in housing and education. They have often made it difficult or impossible for the members of some groups to realize values which, otherwise, would have been within reach.

From time to time we have passed laws which explicitly permitted such practices; on occasion our laws have even enforced them. But, especially in the last 30 years, a rising consciousness of injustice has lead to attempts to change these laws in both the courts and the legislatures. Perhaps the most notable movement was that against segregated school systems. The watershed Supreme Court opinion in **Brown v. Board of Education** set in motion a social process that has largely overturned the American version of **apartheid** in education. Since then, in employment and housing, assaulted by scores of bills and breached by a series of landmark judicial decisions, the legal and social barriers that had created an underclass of second-time citizens have begun to come down.

"Much of our thinking about preferential treatment is informed by (a) powerful metaphor of social life as a competition."

The Fourteenth Amendment of the United States Constitution has provided the primary basis for the legal attack on discriminatory legislation. The relevant portion reads: "No state shall ... deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

Equal protection cases typically arise when state laws pick out some class of persons — a "classification" — for special treatment under the law. Generally the courts use the "rational basis" test in evaluating state-created classification under Fourteenth Amendment review. That is, in determining whether a classification is in violation of the Equal Protection Clause, the court asks whether the classification is "reasonably related to a legitimate public purpose." In **Loving v. Virginia**, the Supreme Court decided that maintaining racial purity was not a legitimate public purpose.

However where a "suspect classification" is involved (or the burdening of some fundamental interest, like the right to vote), then equal protection requires a stricter examination of the classification. The classification will then not pass constitutional muster unless it is "necessary to the accomplishment of a compelling state interest." While race has been held to be a suspect classification, the Supreme Court has not acknowledged that sex is.

Now it is one thing to repeal or overturn state-created classifications which unjustly discriminate against the members of certain groups. But we may want more than this. Perhaps we should do something to eliminate the continuing effects of past injustice. But, characteristically, if we make such efforts, the very classification associated with the original unjust discrimination will reappear at some point in the effort to undo the effects of past wrongs. We may want occupational categories that have traditionally been filled by members of a discriminated-against group to have their salaries raised to match occupations of "comparable worth." We may want universities to implement preferential treatment admissions policies to make allowance for past discrimination against members of minority groups. We may want affirmative efforts to seek out and hire persons belonging to groups that have suffered under unjust laws and social practices. But it is not possible to implement any of these policies without being conscious of classifications that may be suspect.

Some will say that "preferential treatment" or "affirmative action" is as much an evil as the discrimination it aims at overcoming. Others will argue that it is importantly different from unjust discrimination and justified by the circumstances. Seldom has a philosophical issue in law evoked as much controversy as the issue of preferential treatment. Beyond the judicial opinions, there has been a torrent of philosophical books and articles generated by the debate. While it is not possible to review or summarize it here, some main points are worth making.

In the background of the debate is a broad conception of social institutions as involving a commitment to fair competition. We compete for high-paying jobs, admission to prestigious schools, certification by professions, and so on. There is a broadly-shared ideal that social positions be open to talents, that ability — "qualifications" — ought to be the only thing that counts. Society can be conceived as a contest in which each of us strains for a larger share of the benefits of social cooperation. This competition, like a race, should be fair. No one should have unfair advantages.

Please note that my point here is not that this is a correct understanding of contemporary American society, nor even that we would be better off if we took it seriously as a social ideal and implemented it. My suggestion here is that much of our thinking about preferential treatment is informed by this powerful metaphor of social life as a competition. What follows if we take the metaphor seriously?

"Perhaps we should do something to eliminate the continuing effects of past injustice. But, characteristically, if we make such efforts, the very classification associated with the original unjust discrimination will reappear at some point in the effort to undo the effects of past wrongs."

As a first response, there is an immediate sense of unfairness in giving special advantages to some. If I am doing my best in a race, it is difficult for me to accept the award of the prize to one who finished after I did. Ethnicity and past injustices shouldn't have anything to do with declaring the winner. The sole criterion should be the time on the stopwatch.

But how should we handle the outcome if some of the contestants were tied up when the gun went off. At a school competition we can run the race over again; it was not fair that competitors were bobbled at the start. But in society's competition it is not possible for referees to order a replay. Nor is it an adequate remedy simply to release the bound competitor after the race is well underway. Viewed in this light , a readjustment of the finishing times might well be an appropriate way to declare the

winner. This is not playing favorites. It is a reasonable effort to eliminate the effects of past injustice.

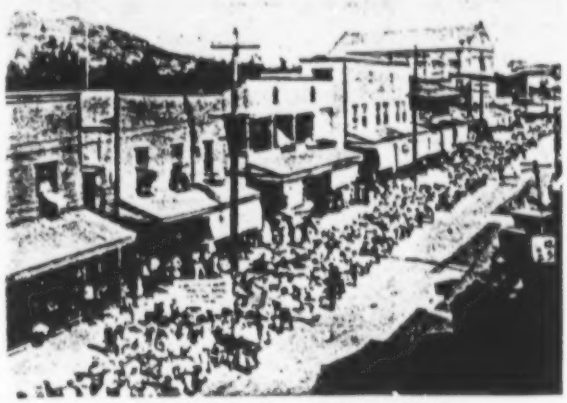
But there are some objections to this. Some might say the competitor who crossed the finish line first should only be penalized if he or she tied up the loser. It is a regrettable that the unfairness took place. And it is certain that someone should make amends. But it is not right that the burden of amends-making should come out of the pocket of the first person to cross the finish line. Those responsible for it should pay.

"Most Americans agree that certain of our groups have been the victims of injustices so substantial and so widespread as to diminish their life prospects."

Moreover, those who are members of traditionally discriminated-against groups are not necessarily the victims of discrimination themselves. Perhaps their parents or grandparents were. The imagery of the bound competitor is not fair to the facts.

But there is a more serious disanalogy between society's competition and the race. For in judging qualifications for jobs, in assessing merit for salary increments, in formulating admissions policies for educational institutions, there is nothing like the unforgiving precision of the judge's stopwatch. Psychology has known for some time about our tendency to judge people in terms of our expectations of them rather than in terms of "objective qualifications." In an atmosphere of general prejudice against certain groups, affirmative action and preferential treatment can actually produce results which more accurately reflect merit and qualifications.

Of course, behind all of this is the assumption that social benefits be proportional to one's talent, one's effort, and so on. If society is solely an individualist economic competition, free from practices that promote other types of social distributions, then the pursuit of justice should begin with the elimination of inherited wealth. The undeserved advantages of the children of the wealthy are more striking a departure from fair social competition than affirmative action and preferential treatment will ever be.



Workers march to demand higher wages during the 1930 strike.

But perhaps the ultimate standards for assessing social institutions ought to be sought within cooperative institutions — like the family — rather than competitive ones. Within the family, benefits are distributed more in accordance with equity and need than with success in competition. From this very different perspective it would be more difficult to take issue with programs of comparable worth and affirmative action.

Recommended Reading

Richard Wasserstrom, **Philosophy and Social Issues** (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1980), pp. 1-82.

Gertrude Ezorsky, Moral Rights in the Workplace (State University of New York Press, 1987), pp. 249-256.

Mary Gibson, **Workers' Rights** (Rowman and Allanheld Publishers, 1983).

Comparable Worth/Pay Equity

by Andrienne Valdes

A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

The terms "comparable worth" and "pay equity" are used to refer to the controversy surrounding the disparity between the wage rates paid to men and women when the work itself is similiar or identical. The two terms are often used interchangeably although technically "comparable worth" is a method of comparison by which "pay equity" is achieved.

Historically women have never been paid the same wage as men even when they have done identical

"In spite of an increasing number of women working in nontraditional jobs (jobs most often held by men), job segregation based on gender is still the norm."

jobs. For example, cigar rolling was initially a male occupation. When women began to be hired for this work it was automatically assumed their product would be inferior. Cigars rolled by women were designated with a different colored band and cost less to purchase. The womens' wages were also lower than those paid to men.

However, more often than not, when women entered the workforce they were employed in jobs

American Bell Telephone exchanges, 1894.

Sorting room at Globe Nail Works, Boston, 1879.

different from men's jobs and automatically paid a lower wage. Some industries solicited female labor because they knew they could pay women less. A prime example is the textile industry which was almost exclusively female. Young girls were encouraged to enter the industry which they did in great numbers.

Only gradually were men replaced by women in certain male dominated jobs such as office help and teachers, but invariably as the women were hired it was for a lower wage than men would have earned.

Thus, a major reason for wage disparity in the workplace is due to womens' lesser status as a whole

"Historically women have never been paid the same wage as men even when they have done identical jobs."

within the culture. Except for pockets of subcultures, ie. pioneers in the western states, women have not been considered equal to men.

The passage of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 made it illegal to discriminate against women in the workplace, which forced employers to change their hiring practices in traditionally male dominated occupations. The affirmative action plans and quota systems of the 1970's forced employers to hire women for jobs for which they were qualified and/or provide the training necessary to do the job. Usually the wages in the skilled trades were already determined by negotiated contracts and women were placed on the same wage scale as men.

But in spite of an increasing number of women working in nontraditional jobs (jobs most often held by men), job segregation based on gender is still the norm. Most women in the workforce are employed in traditional women's jobs and it is within the confines of this traditional women's work that the notion of comparable worth/pay equity evolved.

THE CHANGING WORKING TRENDS OF WOMEN

The current working patterns of women have their origins in the 1940's. During World War II women entered the labor force in unprecedented numbers as men enlisted and went overseas. The women understood that the jobs were temporary and they were terminated overnight when the war ended and men returned to the workforce. For a few years women

Textile industry, New York, 1880.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

remained in the role of homemaker, but by 1955 the number of women in the workforce equaled the number working during World War II.

By the mid 1960's the baby boom had ended and the birth rate began a rapid decline. Simultaneously, the working patterns of women also began to change. Increasing numbers of women began entering the workforce out of necessity, not simply to supplement their husbands' earnings.

Whereas in 1970 only 25 percent of the mothers with a child under age one were employed, by 1985 that

"A major reason for wage disparity in the workplace is due to women's lesser status as a whole within the culture. Except for pockets of subcultures . . . women have not been considered equal to men."

percentage had doubled. Women began to increasingly take little or no time off during their childbearing years, thus remaining in the labor market far longer than they had done previously.

HAWAII V. MAINLAND WAGES AND WORK PATTERNS

According to statistics from the State Department of Labor, the wages of workers in general are depressed when compared to the mainland for both men and women. Corrected for inflation, the average annual wage in Hawaii declined 12 percent between 1970 and 1982. And in 1982 Hawaii's average wage of $15,361 was 9 percent below the national average of $16,732. In addition, Hawaii has the highest overall

"Because of declining household incomes, women in Hawaii have had to enter the workforce in greater numbers in recent years. Most often they are employed in lower income service related jobs."

family budget in the nation. A family of four needs 26 percent more money per year than the average mainland U.S. family to live comfortably.

Because of declining household incomes, women in Hawaii have had to enter the workforce in greater numbers in recent years. Most often they are employed in lower income service related jobs. Nationally in 1986, 52 percent of all women age 16-65 were in the labor force, while in 1980, 58 percent of Hawaii's working women were already working, a jump from 36 percent in 1960.

Since the preponderance of women wage earners are in the low paying, female dominated clerical, sales and service occupations, the median income of working age women in Hawaii in 1980 was $6,581, or 43 percent of the median wage for men of $11,505.

The current trends in the working patterns of women increases the need to find a resolution to the wage inequities so evident in the workplace both in Hawaii and nationwide.

...

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Hawaii State Department of Labor Statistics for 1980.
2. Hawaii State Department of Planning and Economic Development Statistics for 1985.
3. Rachel Kahn-hut, et al, **Women and Work**, Oxford University Press, New York, 1982.
4. Cynthia Lloyd, editor, **Sex, Discrimination, and the Division of Labor**, Columbia University Press, New York, 1975.

Women workers sewing clothes for fieldworkers. (Hawaii State Archives)

About the Contributors

Edward Beechert teaches social and economic history and the history of labor at the University of Hawaii at Manoa. His most recent book is "Working in Hawaii: A Labor History" (University of Hawaii Press, 1985).

Joyce N. Chinen teaches sociology at Honolulu Community College.

Cedric Cowing teaches American history at the University of Hawaii at Manoa, specializing in colonial and missionary history.

Kenneth Kipnis teaches legal and ethical philosophy at the University of Hawaii at Manoa.

Daniel W.Y. Kwok teaches Chinese intellectual history and is Chairman of the History Department at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa.

William J. Puette is a program specialist for the Center for Labor Education and Research (College of Continuing Education and Community Service, University of Hawaii at Manoa). He has written several monographs on the history of labor and union movements in Hawaii.

Adrienne Valdes is a program specialist for the Center for Labor Education and Research.

Dr. Olga A. Lentz, nineteenth century dentist, Minnesota.

Pineapple Field Workers.

Cutting greenbacks at the Treasury Building in Washington, D.C. With its manpower shortages and abundance of women suddenly thrown on their own resources, war has repeatedly opened new jobs to women. In 1862 a few "deserving poor" were hired to trim the paper currency issued to finance the Civil War. Many were found to do "more and better work for $900 per annum than many male clerks who were paid double that amount." From Mary Clemmer Ames, *Ten Years in Washington* (1874)

The Confucian Work Ethic

by Daniel W.Y. Kwok

Confucianism, essentially a socio-political creed in the heyday of China's imperial state and society, came upon hard times in the first seventy-five years of the tumultuous twentieth century. Then, beginning in the early 1970s, Confucianism was discovered to contain a set of social ethics and values compatible with capitalist work habits and economic growth. The discovery, interestingly, was by economists and experts of resource management, followed recently by sociologists, philosophers and bureaucrats.

That Confucianism, which was thought to be alien to the modern work outlook of capitalism — classically phrased by Max Weber as the Protestant ethic and the rise of capitalism — should now be found to have intrinsic properties favorable to economic growth and competition, is one of the truly intriguing phenomena of the contemporary worlds of thought and public philosophy. A series of dazzling economic performances accounts for this turnabout.

Between 1950 and 1980 South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore (the four little tigers, or five, if Japan is included) went from post-World War II dislocation and underdevelopment to major economic status, thus performing in a brief span of thirty years what can truly be called economic miracles. In the early 1950s, the economic levels of East Asia were no different from those of Latin America and Africa. South Korea's per-capita income was U.S. $146, not too different from Nigeria's $150 and Kenya's $129. Taiwan's stood at $224, quite a bit behind Brazil's $373, Mexico's $562 and Argentina's $907. Hong Kong's was a middling $470, and Japan was still in the rubbles of post-war reconstruction.

By 1980, thirty years later, Japan was a superpower, with a per-capita income of $9,890, only a little behind the $11,360 of the United States. South Korea's was $1,563, far outdistancing Nigeria, while Kenya's was only $380. Taiwan's reached $2,720, as compared with Brazil's $1,780, Mexico's $1,640, and Argentina's $2,230. Hong Kong and Singapore also

"Confucian societies uniformly promote in the individual and the family a sense of sobriety, a high value on education, a desire for accomplishment, a seriousness about tasks, job, family and obligations."

turned in miracles. In 1981, Hong Kong's stood at $4,600, ahead not only of the Latin countries, but also Greece, Israel and Spain. Singapore's $4,850 was above that of Ireland.

One economist, facing these feats, comments, "What is it that has awakened these four countries from the Asian slumber? What has given them the fire of Prometheus? What is it that has given them the Faustean ambition to control environment?" The rhetorical questioning, despite the Western terms of reference to Prometheus, Faust and the Asian slumber, is real and resonant. Some see the success in structural factors — social structure, political stability, and continuity of economic policies within the post-war framework of international peace and contained wars. Others favor the cultural approach, giving credit to the role of values and work ethic, thus reviving Confucian values as relevant for modern living. Most commentators would favor a combination of both, as do the authors of the influential work on this matter, Hofheinze and Calder in **The East Asian Edge.**

By far the most dramatic proposition, however, is that of the efficacy of the Confucian ethic in the modern capitalist milieu. Proponents of this view can be called enthusiasts. James D. Hodgson, former United States ambassador to Korea and to Japan, sees in the Pacific a joining of the Calvinist work ethic of North America and Confucian work principles, and finds them to be mutually reinforcing. Herman Kahn, prophet of world economic trends, earlier than most observers notes the post-Confucian culture of all four East Asian regions as playing the determining role in these post-industrial societies. For Kahn, the Confucian ethic has two different but connected sets of issues. First, Confucian societies uniformly promote in the individual and the family a sense of sobriety, a high value on education, a desire for accomplishment, a seriousness about tasks, job, family and obligations. East Asians are hard working, responsible, skillful and, within assigned scope, ambitious and creative. In the East Asian cultures, there is less chance for self-centered thrusts of the individual. Second, Confucian culture nurtures a capacity for purposive and efficient communal and organizational activities and efforts. A belief in these approaches as being more important than individual actions permeates all activities. From the appreciaton of the complementary nature of relations is cultivated also a sense of hierarchy, in which each level attempts to stress equity and fairness. Kahn finds this to be superior to the Western manner of ladder climbing, which involves excessive egalitarianism, disunity, confrontation and extravagant compensation or repression.

To these attributes, later appreciation by numerous authors has added other qualities found in the Confucian past of China to serve modern demands. They are: (a) cultural nationalism, which provides a will to link past and present and inculcates communal concensus: (b) secularism, which approaches the world with a pragmatic regard and does not have to go through divine mystification; (c) rationalist egalitarianism, which nurtures contri-

"Confucianism . . . came upon hard times in the first seventy-five years of the tumultuous twentieth century. Then, beginning in the early 1970s, Confucianism was discovered to contain a set of social ethics and values compatible with capitalist work habits and economic growth."

butory expectancy and not self-gain, personalism and not individualism; (d) philosophical tradition of accepting polarities, which avoids the stridency of absoluteness of creed; (e) strong social discipline; (f) long tradition of awareness of spiritual pollution which aids in singleminded and purposive pursuit of tasks; (g) competitive examination and education, which habituates one to integrate oneself into the social and political spectrum rather than to glorify the individual.

Indeed, these attributes, along with complex historical circumstances, helped sustain the long course of Chinese civilization. Their modern appreciators, as well as skeptics, have not failed to notice that the civilization carrying them as hallmarks did not produce capitalism or the revolution in the natural sciences — both complex processes which drastically reordered life then and now. Quite on the contrary, the Confucian ethic in its full traditional setting thrived on the human-to-human preposition, bound up in what Confucius called **ren** (human-heartedness), **yi** (righteous human impulse) and **li** (decorum). The modern West from the seventeenth century onward became increasingly adept at the human-to-thing rationale, which manipulated the world of matter (and by implication all spheres) to mankind's benefit. This was the "particular mentality" which Max Weber saw in the Protestant ethic and not in the Confucian ethic. Not denying that traditional China had all of the attributes favoring accumulation of wealth, organization of society and bureaucratic government on rational principles and concensus of feelings by community, Weber maintained that China lacked that "starting mechanism" which characterized the tradition-changing West. China's rational ethic was directed inward toward the human world, and possessed no "tension" between the human and the outer world. In China, there was no godliness beyond this world and with it no "ethical prophecy." Both Protestantism and

"Between 1950 and 1980 South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore . . . went from post-World War II dislocation and underdevelopment to major economic status, thus performing in a brief span of thirty years what can truly be called economic miracles."

Confucianism were rationalistic, Weber observed, but the rationalisms were different, the Confucian aimed to fit into the rationalism of the world, the Protestant determined the rationalism of the world.

It is also necessary to point out that the mother civilization of the four little tigers did not, over the same thirty years, produce any "forward-leaping" economy of note. In fact, the traditional "this worldly," human-to-human, proposition seems to have had more continuity than discontinuity with the ethic of work and social relations on the China mainland. Be that as it may, China itself had also been critical of the Confucian way across most of the modern decades. The May Fourth culture of the teens and twenties had declared Confucianism anachronistic for its emphasis on the rites, and not rights, of human relations. During subsequent decades, Confucianism was consigned to classrooms and museums, remembered but no longer revered. In the late 1960s and early 1970s it came once again under attack, for its politically convenient reflection of modern power plays, and not for its cultural threat. Confucianism, to the extent that it suffused all institutional and spiritual aspects of life, was long dead. Confucian ways, to be sure, survived in degrees and in places.

How then does one look at the questions arising from the suggestion that Confucianism alive did not produce capitalism, and Confucianism dead enhances it? Tomes would be necessary to satisfy this query. For the present purpose, though, I would like to end this inquiry with a few interrelated thoughts posed as tentative answers. For one, the first historic meeting of the human-to-human ethic with the human-to-thing formula ended in the century-long discrediting of the former.

The bottom line mentality of "what good is a thing if it's no use to you" triumphed over the lingering question of "what would so-and-so think if I did

"The fact that a socially robust ethic (such as Confucianism) came to be appreciated by economists . . . makes all students of civilization ask whether the modern challenge is economic in nature, and whether the response to it should be economic in nature as well."

this?" China's inability to modernize forthrightly has something to do with the lingering effects of the human-centered ethic. For another, the world of East Asia outside of China, still part of her cultural persuasion even if only in the past, has had other influences that shaped it structurally as well as culturally. Singapore, for instance, can afford to rebuild her society from the post-colonial experiences and do so on principles of its choosing. Thus, in this second encounter of the two ethics, terms of success and failure have changed. Economic successes, however accounted for, may be now viewed against social poises which might have been viable after all. For yet another, the social ethic could very well be appreciated for its buffeting effect upon the competitive demands of modern capitalism and not its causative virtues. For still another, capitalism itself has changed from its nineteenth-century competitive mode to its present emphasis on cooperation and corporate capitalism. The latter demands non-interrupted loyalty, productivity and efficiency. The paternalism inherent in the Confucian ethic is therefore desirable; modern management science and interests understandbly will want to champion it. Does this mean that the work ethic has changed from human-centeredness to thing-centerdness? If so, whence the mystique of the Confucian ethic?

The fact that a socially robust ethic came to be appreciated by economists (and others) and in the context of successful economies, makes all students of civilization ask whether the modern challenge is economic in nature, and whether the response to it should be economic in nature as well.

***

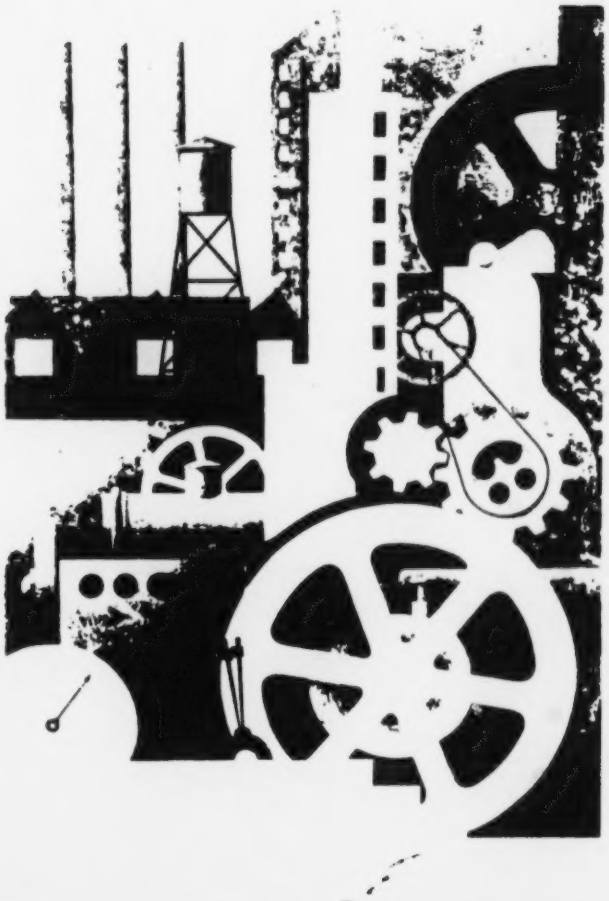
This Program Is Supported In Part By A Grant From The HAWAII COMMITTEE FOR THE HUMANITIES

History of Labor in America and in Hawaii

— sponsored by The Hawaii Government Employees Association (HGEA) and The American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME); with special assistance from The University of Hawaii Center for Labor Education and Research. Major funding provided by The Hawaii Committee for The Humanities (HCH).

Exhibit Tour:

Kauai Community College Library
University of Hawaii Hilo Library
Maui Community College Library
Oahu:
  Kahala Mall Shopping Center
    (Feb. 1-6, 1988)
  Honolulu Hale (City Hall)
    (Feb. 8-19, 1988



Funding for this humanities guide and for the touring exhibition of "Perfect in Her Place, women at work in Industrial America" (a Smithsonian Traveling Exhibit) was provided by The Hawaii Committee for the Humanities.

Hawaii Committee
for the Humanities
3599 Waialae Ave., Rm 23
Honolulu, HI 96816

Non-Profit
Organization
U.S. Postage
PAID
Honolulu, HI
Permit No. 1154

BEST COPY AVAILABLE